

869 thought of witnessing such an act, he shook the tree violently so
 858 that the guilty pair hurriedly made off. There was a general
 murmur of approval. 'You did well,' was the verdict of his
 uncle, the senior man present. In this way, the young child
 learns at an early age how people in various roles and at various
 ages ought to behave in any particular situation. He discovers
 that an infringement of these norms of conduct reflects upon the
 reputation of the individual, but also upon the general prestige
 of those with whom he is closely connected. He learns what is
 right and what is wrong very largely in terms of a responsibility
 related to the loyalty he owes as a member of a group which
 loves and accepts him; in terms, that is, of identification rather
 than of authority. The school years, then, are a time for the
 learning of new skills and attitudes, and a new role as a
 representative of the family in a wider world. It is a period of
 trial and error during which the child is constantly encouraged
 by the love and support of all the members of the family and
 other kinsmen. The importance of success is continually
 stressed, but occasional failure is still not an irretrievable
 catastrophe.

868 Children leave school when they are about thirteen years old.
 883 Between the ages of thirteen and sixteen girls work under the
 instruction of the mother, and attempt all the usual tasks that
 fall within the general domestic duties of a woman. If she has a
 number of older sisters still unmarried she has an easy life,
 but in any case a mother with a view to her daughter's marriage
 prospects is careful not to overtax her physical strength. These
 years are perhaps the most care-free of a girl's life. Her beauty
 is not yet blemished by hard physical labour; she goes to many
 weddings and spends much of her time spinning, knitting, and
 sewing, in the company of other related girls of about the
 same age.

- 882 But from the age of seventeen until she marries, a period of
 577 seven to thirteen years, a girl's deportment inside and outside
 the family changes considerably. She must now behave as a
 maiden of virtue who is acutely sensitive to shame (ντροπαλή).
- [152] No longer may she show her feelings in an uninhibited way, and
 in her conversation and her movements a careful self-control is
 [593] demanded. Her relations with her father now become less
 familiar. Since she left school at thirteen, a certain barrier has

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

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already arisen between them, and from that age she is expected ⁸⁸² in front of strangers to show him respect by standing when he ⁵⁷⁷ sits and helping her mother to wait on her father and his ⁵⁹³ guests. By the time a girl is seventeen there is a noticeable neutrality of tone in her conversation with her father. She is careful to avoid any reference to sexual matters or the possibility of her marriage. They are both conscious of the categorical obligations they owe to one another and the severe penalties which sanction their fulfilment. If a father does not arrange ^[581] an honourable and successful marriage for his daughter, his ^[584] reputation in the community is diminished. If a daughter ^[558] does not preserve her virginity and her reputation for virginity, ^[836] she faces death possibly; or, should she avoid this fate, she must ^[684] certainly endure dishonour and a dishonourable marriage to a widower or a poor man of ill repute. Although between puberty and marriage a daughter receives almost all her instructions from her mother, her father, to whom she is subordinate both by reason of sex and generation, remains the ultimate source of authority.

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At thirteen, when a boy leaves school, he generally begins ⁸⁸² his working life as a goatherd. He comes at once under the ⁵⁹³ direction of his father who in his role of leader and co-ordinator of the family labour group exerts a stronger authority over the boy than he has yet experienced in his relations with his father. A son is now careful to show his father respect. Occasional lapses in correct behaviour towards a father are not taken too seriously while a boy is still at school. He is, then, still a child and is in an obvious sense under the power and instruction of his father and the school teacher. He cannot, however rebellious his nature, become independent at this stage. The boy leaves school at an age which coincides approximately with the onset of puberty and at the same time he becomes a full and responsible working member of the family under his father's leadership. He still offers no threat to his father's position as leader, yet his sexual maturity and the responsibilities of his new status in the family foreshadow the inevitable retirement of the father shortly after the marriage of his eldest son. The firm authority exerted by the father at this stage, and the required attitude of

- 882 respect from the son, serve to dissuade the latter from any
573 attempt at precocious self-assertion. And it protects a man from the ridicule of his equals; for if a youth answers his father's remarks or instructions in a rude or argumentative fashion, other men smile with satisfaction and say that already 'the boy is acting as family head' (τὸ παιδί κάνει τὸν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ).

- 882 The respect of the son is a general attitude which accepts the
593 authority of the father as right and legitimate. A son shows his
576 respect for his father by carrying out conscientiously the instructions he is given. If he is under the age of twenty, he does not smoke or drink ouzo in his father's presence. Similarly, he does not swear or make coarse remarks or jokes about sexual matters before his father. If a youth is sitting in the
[295] village coffee-shop when his father enters, he unobtrusively
[572] gets up and leaves. Drinking, smoking, and playing cards in the coffee-shop are the social activities of those equal in status, and are therefore incompatible with the respect owed by a son to his father. After a young man returns from his military service, when he is about twenty-three years of age, he will begin to drink and smoke with his father at home, a step which he generally takes at the express invitation of the father. The son no longer has occasion to leave the coffee-shop, but this is because a father knowing his son to be there stays at home or, in a large village, goes to another shop; the son, similarly, avoids giving embarrassment and showing disrespect to the father by entering the shop if he knows he is there. If the son is in the shop, the father understands that it is unfair to expect him to leave.

- [561] After his return from military service, the young man becomes a member of the 'pallikari' group* of fully adult but unmarried
[577] men of the community. When he is not with the sheep, he is expected to show himself in the forum of the coffee-shop, to give periodic proof of certain outward signs of his manliness by drinking, smoking, arguing, and by general self-assertion.
[598] He cannot do these things in front of his father, without diminishing his father's honour and his own prestige.

- 593 The idea of an adolescent or adult son striking his father is

* Nowadays this consists of the young unmarried men who have completed their military service, that is of unmarried men between the ages of 23 and 30. The ideal type παλληκάρη is the hero warrior unencumbered with family responsibilities.

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about current problems but, as with the opinions of women and children, they are gently ignored. Yet even after a father's retirement a son continues to owe filial respect to him as long as this does not interfere with his full control of the extended family's affairs. A father must give his consent to the arrangement of a daughter's or son's marriage if this is made after his retirement. And at the celebration of a wedding he always acts as the formal head of the family. Any exhibition of arrogance by a son who tries to deny his father the centre of the stage on this occasion is severely condemned. Vestiges of the relations of authority and respect, which previously bound father and son in the elementary family, always remain; but in his declining years an old man's relations with his son are more characteristically marked by their common concern for the grandchildren to whom the grandfather is devoted.

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We must now retrace our steps to make some comment on the relation between mother and son after the boy has left school at the age of thirteen. It is noticeable that a boy during the last two years at school begins to resent his mother's acts of protective care and love. After he has left school this attempt to behave in a completely masculine manner becomes more evident. He no longer suffers his mother's caresses. If he returns from his herding duties cold and wet, he pointedly ignores the dry clothes which his solicitous mother puts ready for him. Particularly between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, he is given to outbursts of rudeness towards his mother and his sisters. By this abruptness to the women of his family he hopes to give a further demonstration of his growing manliness. Mothers are amused and also a little proud as they observe these antics of their young sons. They understand their feelings and approve of them.

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From the time that a son becomes fully adult his attitude towards his mother becomes less strained and there is a recognition of his deep attachment to her. When Sarakatsani talk about their mothers, they very often mention the original physical connexion; for this appears to them to be an important element in the moral solidarity between mother and son. One cannot abandon an old mother because 'she brought me into

⁵⁹³ the child's first four years there is virtually a reversal of roles
⁵⁷⁹ between mother and father. And this occurs precisely at the
⁸⁶⁷ point in time when the child begins to play a representative
role outside the family. The behaviour of the child now becomes
^[624] a legitimate object for criticism by outsiders and the reputation
of the whole group is at stake. Therefore the authority of the
leader of the family is invoked to sanction the correct pattern
of behaviour; pride, loyalty, and fearlessness in a boy, sexual
modesty and obedience in a girl. But the father achieves this
purpose more often by the withdrawal of his affection and the
encouragement of feelings of shame, than by direct physical
punishment.

⁵⁹³ During the period of adolescence (13-21 years of age
⁸⁸² approximately) the son or daughter must show a careful respect
to the father and there is less familiarity. In the case of a
daughter this is related to her sexual maturity and the need to
discipline her actions; in the case of the son it prevents his
premature self-assertion and protects the prestige of the father
against the ridicule of outsiders. On the other hand, while a
son's relations with his father are stable at this time, he goes
through a period of some abruptness towards his mother in his
efforts to prove his manliness.

⁵⁹³ As a son reaches the threshold of full manhood (23 years of
⁸⁸⁴ age) the importance of his prestige ranking within the 'pallikari'
^[554] age group becomes incompatible with undue deference to any
^[561] senior person, even his father. This is reflected by an argu-
mentative attitude in the private life of the family circle, and
publicly by a measure of avoidance which makes it possible for
a son not to show disrespect to his father without, however,
showing positive deference. But this period of latent competition
with the father, also, sees the son renewing a firm attachment
to his mother.

⁵⁹³ After his retirement the opinion of the father counts for little
⁸⁸⁸ except in questions concerning the marriages of his children and
as a commentator on morality. Yet by identifying himself with
his sons and daughters through an intense interest in his
grandchildren he finds consolation.

⁵⁹³ On the other hand, the status of the mother (so long as she
⁵⁵⁴ is not physically or mentally feeble) increases with age. As a
⁸⁸⁸ mother of honourably married sons and daughters she has

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In relation to the men, the women are considered inferior.

The dichotomy according to sex, noted with regard to the conjugal family, exists also, in even more pronounced form in the extended family where men and women constitute different groups, separated and arranged hierarchically.

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It is not only the division of tasks which illustrates and demonstrates this, but all the phases of daily life, such as festivals in which men and women dance separately, and magico-religious practices in which rites are performed which differ according to the sex of the performers.

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The young men embody the virile element and the pride of the family. They must distinguish themselves by their "spirit," both in difficult moments, as well as during festivals. They are the ones who take charge of the vendetta, and of the defense of pastures against encroachment, flocks against thieves and of the men against bandits. And they are the ones who will lead the dance, competing with each other in the execution of piousness and movements full of harmony and masculine ardor. Moreover, there are manifestations of a magico-religious order in which the protagonists are young men, who thus become the movers of forces favorable to the group. Finally, they represent productive forces in their work and, as future husbands and fathers of families, they guarantee the continuity of the lineage and of the family.

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However, for them, too, seniority on the one hand and kinship on the other, represent the criteria by which they are placed in the social hierarchy within this same family framework.

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In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize another significant aspect of the life style of the extended family, which has to do with festivals and with religious and magical practices.